

# PEACE NEWS

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## Charity—and the War

By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

At the end of his remarkable pamphlet "Let my People Go!" (which every pacifist should have read) Victor Gollancz writes:

*There are two ways of reacting to what is now happening to the Jews of Europe. The one way is mercy—immediate aid to the persecuted; the other is hatred—retribution for the persecutors. And while it is theoretically possible, perhaps, to combine the two, in practice they are mutually exclusive.*

*If your whole mind is filled with agonized pity for the victims: if you are ceaselessly thinking, devising, planning how even one more child may still be saved; then there is no room in you for hatred and retribution, for your whole being is occupied by charity. But if you fill your mind with hatred and the determination to do evil for evil, they poison you at the very source and drive out the charity which might bring balm, here and now, to the suffering.*

THAT is the truth. And though, speaking personally, I have difficulty in reacting simply to the horrors of Jewish persecution, because my mind and soul are a prey to misgiving as to the source and motive of the terrible reports which have been made public, those misgivings would be set at rest, once for all, if the British Government were to declare its intention of "ceaselessly thinking, devising, planning how even one more child could be saved."

That would settle all my doubts; and nothing less will settle them all. That would show that of the two methods of reacting to the unbelievable tale of horror, the rulers and representatives of the British people desired to stimulate in them only the one that is positive, healing, and Christian—in the sense of that ambiguous word that has some meaning for me.

The British Government has made no such declaration—nor anything like it. On the contrary its statements on this matter fall directly under the general condemnation of Mr. Gollancz when he says:

When, for whatever reason, whether from laziness, or not caring enough, or finding the whole thing a bother, we withhold the help we might and ought to give, it is easy to pretend we are doing something by luxuriating in hatred, especially in its more righteous form of retribution. That is why, if you look at every statement that has recently been made on the subject, you will find that the loudest cry for retribution is invariably accompanied by the strongest insistence that "we can do very little" or "we can do practically nothing."

One need not go so far as to suggest that the Government definitely desires to encourage the reaction of hatred and righteous retribution in order that the reaction of charity may be smothered. There is, alas, no need to do any deliberate smothering of the motion of charity in time of total war. Charity is smothered: that is the indispensable condition of war.

One need not suspect the Government of doing anything more, or

worse, than naturally "putting first things first". The first thing is war. What room then for charity?

### If Imagination Haunted...

Suppose someone of influence in the Government were haunted day and night, like Pilate's wife, by the imagination of the sufferings of the innocent; suppose he were to insist, in season and out, that something must be done—nay, everything must be done—here and now, to save our doomed Jewish brothers. Yes, even to speak direct to Hitler, or, if that be impossible, to request the Pope to speak direct to him: to say to him, quite simply, that we were ready at this very moment to provide a refuge for the stricken Jews, to set aside all the necessary shipping for this errand of divine and human mercy.

Would not the Pope eagerly embrace the office of mediator and suppliant? Would he not even, if he were assured that this was indeed our intention and desire, go in person to Herr Hitler to plead with him?

We know he would. And the Government knows he would. And that is why the request will never be made. For where would the war be then?

Once give full rein to a motion of charity in men's hearts, and the war must stop. Charity to the Jews, charity to the starving children of Europe—it is all the same in the end. Follow that star, and it leads directly and inevitably to peace; and for precisely the reason given by Mr. Gollancz, that, in fact, the motion of charity and the motion of hatred cannot coexist in the human soul. Perhaps Mr. Gollancz himself is not yet fully aware of all the consequences of his discovery.

### "Just Retribution" Doctrine

It is this vital inward contradiction which makes nonsense, if not worse, of the doctrine of our Christian leaders concerning "just retribution", which is exalted by them as a Christian duty, as "the true expression of love and loyalty not only to God and to goodness and to the victims of aggression, but equally also to the wrong-doers."

The description of the belief comes from Stephen Hobhouse's pamphlet "Retribution and the Christian" (2nd edition, For), which is a careful criticism of it from the theological standpoint. Hobhouse contends that retribution, in so far as it can be ascribed to God at all, is the working of an impersonal justice in the scheme of things. In the working of that natural or automatic justice it is not for Christian men to participate.

Christians are not called to be "the scourge of God". Their business is quite other: it is to break through the chain of evil incessantly begotten by evil, by refusing to be the instruments of that process. It is to become the instruments of human redemption by returning good for evil. That, says true Christian doctrine, they cannot do of themselves, but only by the grace of God, or by virtue of the ever-living Christ working within them.

Hobhouse quotes William Law:

The unalterable purity and perfection of the divine love which, from eternity to eternity, can will nothing but its own goodness, and therefore can will nothing toward fallen man but the return of his lost goodness by a new birth of the divine life in him, which is true forgiveness of sins... And this is the one and the only way of Christ's expiating or taking away the sins of the world.

That, I have no doubt, is the true doctrine of Christianity; and the miracle of regeneration which it describes in Christian idiom is none other than the simple psychological or spiritual fact which Gollancz describes in language perhaps more comprehensible to a modern mind: the fact that charity (the charity of I Corinthians XIII) cannot exist in the human soul with hatred. The birth of the former is the death of the latter.

### Awful Consequences!

And that would never do. War would be no more. Rescue the Jews, feed the children: really rescue them,

really feed them—and the war must cease. Let any man, any Bishop even, think it out, and the conclusion is inescapable. In thought, and in act.

Hence the subtleties of the belligerent Churchmen. They know the conclusion, and at all costs they must avoid it. With infinite subtlety they conspire in the work of smothering the process they were appointed to further—the rebirth of the eternal Christ in the human heart.

I cannot forgive them. I do not hate them; I try to feel charity towards them. And assuredly never a thought of retribution for their betrayal enters my heart.

I am just unutterably weary of them; and my notion of the divine economy is one that enables me to rejoice that it is left to a Jew, like Mr. Gollancz, to proclaim in language so simple that he who runs may read in it the truth that they dare not acknowledge.

PACIFIST COMMENTARY: EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## Germany and Russia: The Issue Decided?

STILL overshadowing every other event of the war, is the mighty Russian recovery. Behind their shortened lines, the Germans may be feverishly preparing another offensive for the summer; but it is difficult to believe that it will not be foredoomed to early exhaustion. The effect of the happenings of this winter on the moral of both sides must be great. Confidence born of heroic achievement in circumstances of superhuman difficulty on the Russian side; a deepened sense of foreboding on the German, now that the intoxication of their spectacular triumphs of 1939-41 has subsided.

These things are imponderable; and perhaps one is inclined to exaggerate them. But, when all precautions are taken, there remains a solid residue of conviction that, as between Germany and Russia, the issue is decided. Germany cannot win. And not to win is to lose. The dream of a great, unified Nazi Europe, secure and self-sufficient at the expense of Russia, has faded. The capitulation at Stalingrad is symbolic.

### Hitler's Position

SOONER or later, it seems, this turning of the scale must have a catastrophic effect upon Hitler's position. The attack on Russia was his doing. As readers of this column will remember, I did not believe it was possible, so wanton and foolhardy did it appear. When it actually happened, I could account for it only by supposing that Hitler and his military advisers had such knowledge of Russian military preparations and resources that they were convinced that they could annihilate the Russian armies. Perhaps they came near to doing so. But they have failed. The power of resistance, the capacity for organization of the Russians was far greater than was suspected by the Germans, or anyone else except the handful who have a religious faith in Russian communism.

Hitler staked everything, not on knowledge, but on the "intuition" of a man of destiny. The shaking of his own faith in himself may be even more important than the birth of doubt in the German people. Hitler's own silence, at the very moment of Goering's explanation that the clumsiness of the Russian attack on Finland was a gigantic and successful bluff, makes a strange impression.

AS between Germany and Russia, I believe that the issue is now essentially decided. It does not follow that the issue between Germany and Britain will be decided in the same way. On the material side, the campaign in Tunisia has not been so successful that the Russians can regard it as a present help to themselves. Nor have British and American supplies to Russia been on such a scale that the Russians will regard them as having contributed anything substantial to their recovery. In relation to Britain and America, Russia probably regards herself as uncommitted, in spite of treaty "obligations."

In the realistic and somewhat cynical mind of Stalin, acts alone give substance to a treaty. The failure to create a second front on the European continent in 1942 is more important than a document. The absence of any Russian representatives from the Casablanca conference, at which we are told the plans for the great British-American offensive for 1943 were settled, may indicate Russia's determination to keep her own counsel and fend for herself.

### Russian Independence

THE submarine warfare, which is becoming the nightmare of Britain and USA, concerns Russia only indirectly. Mr. Churchill himself has borne witness to the difficulty of making Stalin see the importance of sea-power. In so far as the continued success of the U-boats makes doubtful the prospect of any large-scale offensive in Europe, Russia is in a sense vitally concerned with it. But if Russia is, as we may suppose, pretty sceptical about the Western offensive anyhow, the total effect of the submarine war will be to make Russia more conscious of her own strength as compared with the Allies' weakness.

It is proud of its soldiers, proud of its strength—yes, and proud that it has been able to inflict this colossal catastrophe on Hitler's army virtually without the assistance of any of its Allies. It wanted help in the heavy days of summer, and naturally it still wants the Allies to join without delay in smashing the enemy.

And there is a new note in the attitude of the Red Army today—there is an even greater independence and, I would say, more criticism of the Allies, spoken and unspoken, than for many months (Paul Winterton from Moscow: News Chronicle, Feb 4).

(Continued on page 2)

### VALUE FOR MONEY

SOMEONE asked me the other day what this six-page issue was going to be "in aid of". I explained that it was not "in aid of" anything, but was due to the fact that our circulation leaves a small margin of our paper ration which we can use for an occasional extra sheet.

But it gives me an idea: let our readers regard it as being in aid of the Fund which, if it cannot ensure all the paper we would like, will at any rate ensure the independence of a pacifist press at the highest level possible.

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### THE EDITOR

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## The New Barbarism

MR. Peter Drucker, in his new book, "The Future of Industrial Society", puts before us once again the question whether the methods of industrial mass-production are compatible with that necessary human dignity, lacking which the members of any society are bound to lack valid social purpose, and the society itself is bound to disintegrate.

At first sight it is astonishing that this question does not trouble the modern world more deeply. Since Eric Gill died, there is (it seems) no one among us for whom it is a matter of prime and public concern. Great men in the past have been troubled by it: Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris; but no-one of that stature is troubled by it today. Perhaps it is simply because there is no-one among us of that stature.

None can usurp this height...

But those to whom the miseries of the world  
Are misery, and will not let them rest.

Perhaps (and, we think, more probably) it is because it is no longer the giants of insight and prophecy who are troubled by it, but now thousands of ordinary men; and in them the trouble is not so much a conscious foreboding of evil to come, as a present dumb experience of helplessness and frustration. That which the prophets foresaw has overtaken us. And there seems to be no way out.

Men cannot turn their backs on the new industrial techniques. If they dream to escape, their waking minds know that there is nowhere to escape to. Of the many things that the demonic process of this war may bring to pass, one is certain: that the very ends of the earth will be knit together by the new industrial techniques. Beyond the Urals, in China, in the backblocks of Australia, the new technology advances under the pressure of universal war. There is no escape. If the new methods of production are, indeed, radically incompatible with a basic human dignity, if they require that man—infinite in faculty—should become a mere automaton, the future is bleak indeed.

Production, production, production! That is the one goal set before the champions of liberty today. It is the one goal set before the champions of slavery, also. On which side do the means more truly correspond with the end? There are moments when the issue of victory or defeat seems positively trivial, a kind of absurd fairy-tale, or Pied Piper's song, to lead innocent mankind into permanent captivity; and the ostensible struggle between freedom and slavery merely conceals the process by which both sides are induced to surrender "their eternal jewel unto the common enemy of man".

When the Roman Empire fell, the very fabric and technique of Western civilization collapsed. For 1500 years there were no more roads in Europe save the remains of those which the engineers and legionnaires of Rome had designed and built. With us today, the fabric of civilization grows more intricate and dense, all the while the spirit of civilization collapses. The barbarism we have to fear is not a barbarism in which the technique of civilization are forgotten; but a barbarism in which those techniques have reached, by the very drive of savagery, an unprecedented perfection.

What is the answer to this problem? What will be the response of humanity to this utterly new challenge to its capacity for life? We do not pretend to know. That we cannot escape the new industrial society is certain; it is utterly uncertain whether the new society can be humanized at all, without a moral revolution so radical and so widespread that the war itself makes it almost impossible to believe in.

## Chancellor's Statement A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

(Continued from page one)

That is natural enough; and it would be equally natural if Russia were determined to pay heed to her own interests alone. She has never pretended to do otherwise.

## Hitlerism Doomed

TO regard a separate conclusion to the war between Russia and Germany as impossible, as the press in general affects to do, is short-sighted. Russia, from her very different position, might well repeat the tactics of Brest-Litovsk: invite the United Nations to negotiate with Germany, and go ahead with her own negotiations if they refused. It is a useful precedent, and it has the authority of Lenin. That Hitler is trying to use the U-boat campaign "to bring about a military stalemate and a patched-up peace, with Germany still in control of the subjugated countries and ready to resume the attack upon the first favourable opportunity" (Times, Feb. 3) will not be such a bogey to Russia as to ourselves, if Russia has taught Germany once for all that it does not pay to attack her.

But this is a static way of looking at a dynamic situation. A Germany that has failed against Russia, with such chances on her side as can never recur, is not a Germany that can subjugate Europe single-handed. As soon as Russia has convinced Germany that she cannot win against her, Germany will convince herself that in future she can only grow weaker vis-à-vis Russia. Hitler and Hitlerism are therefore doomed. And

Russia could leave Europe west of her strategic frontiers to itself—quite safely, from her point of view.

## Economic Dreaming

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement had all the airs of modernity. Gold was not so much as mentioned. Six desirable ends were proclaimed, without any hint that some of them might be incompatible with others. Increase of exports was, of course, absolutely necessary: and the phrasing at this point was judicious and delightful.

Unless, in fact, we could effect a great move forward in our export trade, our comparatively high standard of living must inevitably fall. We must never forget that we could only achieve this by providing our customers with the goods and commodities they wanted and at prices they were able and willing to pay, and we should have, he was afraid, to compete with others both as regards price and quality, and we must make a profit.

Nevertheless, "we wanted an agreed economic policy between the nations, and an international monetary system which would be the instrument of that policy." I do not set up as an economist; but it strikes me that these two desiderata just cancel one another out. At best it is dreaming of creating on an international scale the kind of economy "planned for freedom" which no nation has yet succeeded in creating for itself. That is symptomatic of the world situation. Men are looking, at the international level, for a society which they have failed to create at the national level: just as they seek, at the national level, for a morality which they fail to observe as individuals.

## Super-Beveridge World

HOWEVER that may be, The Times (Feb. 4) is distressed. The debate "revealed an anxiety and a confusion of thought which the Government spokesmen did little to dispel. A few members still spoke in terms of a competitive struggle to capture foreign markets." The Chancellor himself did not use the phrase, but meant the same thing:

Yet it would seem clear enough today, not only that the resumption of such a struggle must lead straight back to the chaos of the 1930's and the catastrophe of 1939, but also that Great Britain in 20th century conditions must inevitably be left behind in such a struggle, both by countries with enormous domestic markets favouring mass-production and by countries with low standards of living. Disaster lies ahead unless a new attitude can be developed—and first and foremost in this country—towards international economic relations. International trade can prosper everywhere today, not through a struggle among nations for existing markets, but only through the creation of fresh markets by common and cooperative effort.

Sound enough, but it comes to the same thing: a real world-community at a level of morality not yet reached by any national society. The Beveridge report is not yet law in Britain; yet this is more than Beveridge for the whole world.

## The Greater "War"

IT may be, in this paradoxical world, that that is how it will come about: that the international society will be the pattern for the domestic. But we hardly have the right to expect that it will. We hold the weak hand. Of the United Nations, USA and Russia can get on perfectly well without us; not we without them. To make the British Empire an effective autarkic unit comparable with USA and Russia is not a practical possibility, if only because the economic bonds between Canada and USA are already more intimate than those between Canada and Britain. On the other hand, to make a single federation of USA and the British Empire is hardly more practicable, given the strength of isolationist sentiment, good and bad, in USA.

It is nothing short of amazing, since our post-war situation is so precarious that our statesmen speak of practically nothing but winning the war. Winning the war against our own Allies, is likely to be a much tougher proposition. Perhaps that is why we keep quiet about it. But perhaps not.

## Harnessing War-Unity

UNDOUBTEDLY, there is a widespread desire that the war-unity of the nation should be used to lay at least the bare foundations, the mere skeleton, of a better post-war society. Equally widespread is a disbelief that it will be so used. Some pacifists regard this as axiomatic; a particular application of what they conceive to be the universal truth that nothing good can come of war. I think this idea mistaken. If the will and the clear imagination of the goal were there, war-unity could be used to do things which have long needed to be done, in reorganizing and revivifying our domestic society. But I doubt the will, and I doubt the clear vision of the goal.

It irks me to be pessimistic; but I have always the obstinate feeling that Britain missed the bus of history at the end of the last war. Then she had the power and the prestige to set the pattern to Europe. She does not possess it now. The power and prestige have passed to other hands.

## A Second Chance?

A PART from the thesis that the very extremity of our need is in itself an added opportunity, I find myself in sympathy with this passage from The Times (Feb. 9):

"In one respect the tragedy of our time has given this generation a unique advantage. The problems we shall have to confront, starker and clearer perhaps with the lapse of time, are essentially those which were set by the world twenty-five years ago. This nation will no longer enjoy the margin of wealth and power which enabled it then, though at cruel cost to a large number of its citizens, to ride out the resultant confusion."

"What lies ahead is no task set by visionaries, but a great and necessary undertaking that must answer to the dictates of recovery—that is to say, of self-preservation. Nothing less will serve than a new level of organized efficiency both in public and in private enterprise. And in discharging a duty to itself, the nation will be discharging a duty of leadership by example that is equally essential. It cannot afford to fumble a saving opportunity twice. By a rare dispensation of events a second chance is given within a single lifetime for a historic failure to be retrieved. If it were not taken, the abdication would be unforgivable. Nor would it be forgiven."

But try to translate that into concrete terms; and see what happens.

## Star of Christ

To the Editor of Peace News

Although I am very conscious of the failures of Christians (among whom I would humbly include myself) and the Christian Church, I cannot feel that the coming of the Prince of Peace has not made the history of the last 30 years one atom less terrible than it might have been.

All works of healing and charity have been consciously or unconsciously inspired by his spirit, and though perhaps they have been but fine-points of light in the general gloom, (though I think in many instances they have been more than that), yet are they not the less important for that. The stars save many a night from being completely dark.

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HAROLD WILSON on

## DIPLOMACY

Old and New

AN amusing Morning Post leader once referred to the old diplomacy as "so successful in preserving peace until 1914."

Today there is a new diplomacy, characterized as "shirt-sleeved". Or again, "dollar diplomacy". To illustrate: "I am Wendell Willkie and I damn well say what I please".

Times have indeed changed since the noble conception of Woodrow Wilson: "open covenants openly arrived at". Since then there have been Mr. Baldwin's "sealed lips", and now the expressed viewpoint of the present Prime Minister: "I must say quite frankly that I hold it perfectly justifiable to deceive the enemy. Even if, at the same time, your own people are for a time misled".

Significantly enough, Mr. Leslie Henson, in a pre-war Gaiety show, used to be asked "Do you know what happens to little boys who tell lies?" To which he replied, "Oh, yes. When they grow up they get good jobs at the Foreign Office."

## "CLOSED SHOP"

In view of the failure of the League Covenant it is salutary to recall that neither Mr. Lloyd George nor Mr. Baldwin ever went to Geneva. Mr. Macdonald, however, did go twice. Moreover, of these two visits, Lord Cecil has written in his book, "The Great Experiment":

It was thought that he (Mr. Macdonald) addressed the Assembly of the statesmen and diplomats of Europe as if it had been an English public meeting. The truth is that he enjoyed immensely the old diplomacy, the conception that a few very eminent personages sitting in secrecy should settle the affairs of Europe.

He never fully accepted the view that modern education and modern publicity makes it essential that diplomacy should carry with it the knowledge and consent of the peoples, particularly in democratic countries. For that object the Assembly is an invaluable instrument, but it requires a different technique from that which was suitable for the Congress of Vienna.

The point emerges that for too long foreign affairs and defence have been the prerogative of a rigid ruling class. Assuredly the time has gone, if there ever was such a time, when frivolous and irresponsible despots could do their duty as they narrowly conceived it on the polo-grounds, race courses, and hotel terraces of Europe. Modern diplomacy, above all, is not

friendship; it is business. The Russo-German pact is a glaring case in point, euphemistically called, as it was at the time, a pact of "non-aggression." To this day it can still be debated as to who fooled whom.

The official photograph of the signing ceremony, the first occasion of its kind ever attended by Stalin, is infinitely revealing. Louis Fischer, famous American foreign correspondent, comments: "Stalin looks as if he had performed a trick and was pleased. Molotov too seems to be cynically delighted, and Ribbentrop beams. Stalin's face is more telling than a dozen secret clauses."

## DEMOCRACIES' RECORD

The democracies for years have blundered from one diplomatic gaffe to another. Over and over again the same story: camouflaged capitulations. Foreign Office support for the League Covenant has never been, in diplomatic phraseology, "a matter of honour and vital interest." Rather has it been in the realm of a possible gratuitous act, analogous to that of a Boy Scout. At the time of the Italo-Abyssinian war, for instance: when Laval was not an ally he was an alibi.

Here I may be permitted, perhaps, a personal allusion. I was myself present in the League of Nations Assembly when Mr. Eden announced the withdrawal of sanctions against Italy; and never in all my life have I felt more ashamed.

But, horror of horrors, this was but the beginning. Inconceivable though it still seems, Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister, and Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary, later even attended a banquet in Rome and drank to the Italian Emperor of Abyssinia.

"Insanity Fair" and "Disgrace Abounding" are by no means inadequate titles for such diplomatic duplicity.

To revert to Russia. How can there be confidence between Britain and Russia when, as Sir Bernard Pares tells us Ribbentrop arriving in Moscow to sign the Russo-German pact was housed next door to our own military mission! A revenge indeed for Russian exclusion at Munich.

Obvious for all to see is that while secret diplomacy goes on there will be conscription. That is the fact of significance for pacifists. And no less important, faith in its financial power is one of the causes of Britain's bad diplomacy.

"Diplomacy without armaments is like music without instruments." Such was the maxim of Frederick the Great, and one with which no pacifist is likely to quibble. The din and discord of the Concert of Europe is indeed evidence enough.

# What is the Price of Victory?

*It has never seemed to the Government necessary to give any adequate reasons why many thousands of potentially useful citizens should be condemned to death in this war.*

*It is probably true, as Middleton Murry has remarked, that we shall have to make peace to know what we are fighting for. Nevertheless, war aims have, like Topsy, just growned, meeting the needs of any given moment.*

*It is now possible to discern several fairly clear-cut stages in the progress of our national desires.*

**W**E began by fighting to resist aggression, the aggressor being Germany (and Russia?) and the aggressesee Poland. After Spain, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, this situation must have made our Government feel rather like the USA Government when arresting Al Capone for not paying his income tax.

When it became obvious that help to Poland was but a pleasant dream, we discovered that we were fighting to crush Hitlerism. This, in its turn, being rather negative, gave way to fighting for civilization and the chance to build a new world, the new world which we had resolutely refused to build when we could have done so and thus avoided this war.

As the war went against us and questioning voices were to be heard, war aims became two a penny. Every objection to the war was twisted and used as a reason for fighting it. Every corporate and individual desire, from international socialism to cheaper beer, was presented by some section of the press as being one of the things we had in mind when we drew our shining sword.

As it became evident that we were in no position to fulfil any war aims at all, so did our war aims increase in number, on the principle that, if you can't get what you want, you may as well want as much as possible.

However, their natural caution caused the Government to stabilize this tendency, and this happy period culminated in the nebulous Atlantic Charter, which promised a vague paradise, with organ music and stained glass windows, to those parts of the world over which we had no control, and the old, old, very certain hell to those parts over which we had control.

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But still the people were not satisfied, so that we had to fall back on the old standby of nations at war. We were fighting, as John Scanlon has put it, because of a number of things which had happened since the war began. We had to fight to the last man and moo-cow, quite simply, because of the absolutely un-British things Hitler would do to us if we lost.

The hero with the bulging biceps, then, was motivated chiefly by fear. Hong-Kong was much easier to remember than the Four Freedoms. The bogey-man, God's gift to belligerent governments, had come to the rescue again.

With fear, of course, went its natural companion, hate. We forgot our fear, and revenged ourselves on Hitler and his followers, by discussing all the nasty things we intended to do to them when we caught them, just as the small boy scores mentally off the bully by enjoying the thought of what will happen when he grows up or his big brother comes to help him. What racks! What tortures!

This policy was called "retribution" by the Church and blessed.

## "New" World Emerges

*Now we have reached the last stage. With the first touch of sunshine the maggots begin to hatch. As the military situation appears to be turning more to our advantage, we begin to see what our rulers really intend the outcome of this war to be.*

**EMBOLDENED** by victory, securer on his political foundations, Mr.

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Churchill relaxes into honesty and beckons his Tory followers out of their holes, their hide-outs of "national unity". "We mean to hold our own" is the keynote.

Through all the cant and verbiage the facts begin to emerge. The United Nations, united only in their common mistrust of the Axis and each other, pursue their happy ways.

America frankly prepares to take up the biggest share of the white man's burden, to become the greatest naval, air, and imperial power in the world. While carving out a new empire for herself in French North Africa, and capturing many of our pre-war markets, she treats us more and more as a junior partner, or as a nearly retired business man being replaced by a younger and more vigorous successor.

In Britain we see in promise and in action what our war aims are. Mr. Churchill promises the native peoples now under Japanese control that we shall once again give them the privilege of slaving for us. We welcome Communism in Russia—but not beyond it; clerical totalitarianism in Spain and Portugal; the restoration of monarchies and reactionary governments (now fed and kept in working order by us and America) in various German-occupied countries; and, by association with our great democratic ally, Fascism in North Africa.

At home the Beveridge Plan promises £2 a week each old age pension (after 20 years) at a time when few people see much prospect of qualifying. The Plan will, in Yaffle's words, "raise the standard of living from a shameful insufficiency to a decent inadequacy". The present form of pie-in-the-sky has a hard crust and little sugar inside it.

★

Meanwhile, China devotes her time to absorbing the Japanese armies and evolving a dangerous form of nationalism. The USSR confines her aims to what is possible, and so probably stands more chance of achieving something positive than her loose-mouthed Allies in the west.

Russia wants to defeat the Nazi armies, and says so, and she knows that military victory is impossible without dictatorial totalitarianism. It is refreshing, if alarming, to hear her honest, synthetic hate, shorn of any democratic clap-trap.

Yet Russians are romantic, too. A Russian was recently reported to have stated: "We are fighting for the right to read William Shakespeare." The British working-classes have been fighting for that right ever since the First Folio, and have made just sufficient progress to be able to read the daily dose of propaganda, but not enough to see through it.

## LET PEACEMAKERS REMEMBER . . . .

**NO** men desire peace? Yes, because war no longer means fighting worthy of the name.

But do they desire the things that make for peace? There is not the slightest sign of it. They want a contradiction. They want peace in order to make money undisturbed. But that is for ever impossible—it is as impossible an idea as it is in fact.

Do men desire peace? Yes, because war has now come home to them. It is no longer a matter of a thin red line of heroes. It means bombs in the bedroom . . .

But do they want the things that make for peace? I do not see the slightest sign of that either.

We live in so depraved an age that were a stranger to compare the words of the Gospel with what goes on he would infer that men were not followers of Christ but his enemies . . . and the worst of it is that

## CYRIL HUGHES suggests it is the Ending of Democratic Progress

*What is the meaning of all this?*

**IT** means that the price of victory on the field of battle is the ending of democratic progress and the establishment of new imperialisms and new totalitarianisms. This is inevitable, both by the design of our rulers, and by the inexorable process of military organization itself.

Some, at least, of our leaders have come to know this, but are afraid to tell the people. The opportunists are concerned only with consolidating their historic power, and with building new bases. The war situation improves, the war aims emerge, Cripps leaves the Cabinet. If it degenerates again, doubtless more easy promises will be made, more respectable skin-deep revolutionaries will join the Government, and more emergency regulations will pave the way to dictatorship.

As long as war lasts, Caliban will cast out Ariel. Sir William Beveridge, who is an honest man, admits that he knows no way of abolishing unemployment short of totalitarianism. Nor did Hitler. There is a way, out of Sir William's ken, but it implies a stopping of the war by revolution; and in abolishing unemployment and poverty and exploitation it would abolish Hitlerism too; for where these things are, there is incipient Hitlerism, and where they are not, potential Hitlers will remain harmless housepainters.

Sir William and others like him are dimly beginning to realize what

poets and pacifists were telling the world long before the war. The pacifists and some of the poets are telling people now what the results of their present actions will be. But if the country is as much behind the Peace Pledge Union as usual, it will be too late.

★

When will the poor, suffering, ignorant, bemused, great people of England see through the hollowness of their leaders? For they are, if they are true to themselves, a great people, and can yet save the world by their example. There's the rub. For they can never be true to themselves while they follow men of straw and wind, and allow themselves to be deceived by false promises covering up a lack of policies, or bad ones.

A good mother would never let her child undergo a serious operation unless she were assured by a competent person that it was absolutely necessary, and why. Yet the people of England allow themselves and their children to be subjected to an ordeal more dangerous and terrifying than any operation, and are given as the reason contradictions, procrastinations, lies, and dignified silences.

Conscription is a good substitute for adequate war aims, and children (sorry, "men") of 18 in uniform satisfactory instruments of high policy. The brave new world will surely be built, with all the old bricks and all the old mortar, and the young hands that should be doing the job lying rotting in some foreign field.

Do not, then, people of England, insist that your government do certain things for you, but insist that, for once, you will do this job of destroying Hitlerism and building a new world yourselves, and do it as you would build a house, knowing that on the methods and materials you use depends the soundness of the structure.

And do not feel, as some do, that by abandoning the war now you will be cheating yourselves of something that you set out to attain. For if your faith and your hope and your generosity are great enough, nothing shall be denied you.

But if you follow the mirage of victory, beckoned on by men careless of your well-being and unworthy of your sacrifice, all that you ever held dear in the mind and the spirit will be betrayed. And though you may attain your goal, the fruits will be bitter indeed.

## Way to Real Victory

*Yet do not believe that real victory is impossible. It can be yours and will be, if you want it enough. But it is inseparable from peace, and demands sacrifices as great as those you are all too ready to make for war. May I just indicate the way?*

**FORGET** your pride, and do not be afraid to be humble. Forget your fear, and at the same time your hate. Realize our own country's need of forgiveness, and learn now to forgive. Do not expect a peace now to provide the attractive prospect the possibility of which long years of shameful wrongdoing have destroyed. Compare peace now with war and its aftermath, and judge.

Realize why Hitler came to power. Remove, by social revolution, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, capitalism, imperialism, and you will be a long way towards a brighter future, with Germany at your side. Free India, and all the peoples it is now in our power to free. Cease to be hypocritical; be honest with yourselves; renounce what is bad in you, and be glad that there is so much good.

If we all do this, we shall begin to deserve victory. And that is the indispensable preliminary to its real achievement.

"Our children are guarded from diphtheria by what a Japanese and a German did; they are protected from smallpox by an Englishman's work; they are saved from rabies because of a Frenchman; they are cured of pellagra through the researches of an Austrian. From birth to death they are surrounded by an invisible host—the spirits of men who never thought in terms of flags or boundary lines and who never served a less loyalty than the welfare of mankind."—Raymond B. Fosdick.

## CONFIRMING THE TRUTH

*Peace News still gets about the world a bit, despite the difficulties, and so serves the interests of truth, as the following incident shows in a special way.*

**H**AVING read in our issue of June 26 last that Canada issues loans to be used for relief purposes only, and having been told by her local bank that there were no such bonds, Miss May Timbers, of Vancouver, British Columbia, wrote to say we had apparently been misinformed.

The issue containing her letter, however, evidently never reached her, so that she was doubly surprised to receive, nearly six months after our original report, this confirmation of it from another Canadian PN reader, a clergyman in Ontario:

Looking over a set of Peace News which a friend in the States sent me, I saw your letter about the Series B. Dominion Loan Bonds, for relief of suffering only.

I had great difficulty in getting track of these bonds, but they are actually offered, even though the ordinary banker or post office official knows nothing of them. Application "may be made to the Public Debt Division of the Bank of Canada, Ottawa"—I copy from the form I have.

I thought you would be interested in this round-about response to your letter to Peace News.

they do not know it (St. John Chrysostom, AD 375).

What then? Is it as though Christ has not died? No, it is simply as though men and women had entirely forgotten.

Let peacemakers remember. Let them above all remember that it is no manner of good preaching peace unless we preach the things that make for peace—that even the love of our fellow men is no good unless it means giving rather than taking, yielding rather than holding, sharing rather than exclusive possession, confederation rather than sovereignty, use rather than profit. And it means the subordination of the man of business and the dealer and moneylender both in the world and, even more, in our own hearts.

**ERIC GILL** ("Last Essays")

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# REFLEXIONS

by

Arthur Ponsonby

I THINK it is possible and indeed necessary to make a distinction between tactics and strategy.

Tactics is the art of disposing military, naval and air forces by their respective commanding officers when in actual contact with the enemy. In this there have been several signal examples of success.

Strategy lies in the far wider management by the supreme authority of governments or dominant political leaders of choosing the areas of conflict and taking into account, as in this war, the increasingly wide field of operations to be covered. The failures in strategy have been frequent and are too well known to need enumeration. But the vast extension of the war is itself a proof of the failure of those primarily responsible for strategy, while blame has too often been cast on the tactics of the commanders of the fighting forces, who have been charged with impossible tasks.

So much for actual warfare. But strategy is carried over into peace-making. Convinced that he is a born strategist, your leader will seize opportunities for further thwarting the enemy in the future when arms have been laid down and he is helpless and in the dust, not seeing that he is making preparations for yet another war.

## Changing Frontiers

THE chance for this strategy arrives when the operation begins of what is called "delimiting frontiers", the common people being abysmally ignorant of sufficient history or geography to understand what the high personages sitting round the peace council table are talking about. Not only the common people are ignorant, but the vast majority of those who take an intelligent interest in the proceedings, and even some who actually sit at the table. It was Arthur Balfour who said to his neighbour at the Conference at Versailles: "We seem to be giving places we have never seen to people we have never heard of."

Someone in the corner declares, "Self-determination". This fine phrase is taken up and repeated. But the man with the ruler and compasses goes on delimiting the frontier lines, which turn out to be fundamentally strategic. Your strategist has won his point. The enemy has been crippled and confined for the future. Who knows the shades of racial differences in central Europe? And who in this country cares?

Anyone looking through a historical atlas will see how races are not compact in confined districts but intermingle. So that in the last few centuries military conquest has determined or changed the frontiers strategically.

## Keep Watch This Time

YET the framers of the Treaty of Versailles, when their labours were over and the portentous volume of the Treaty was presented, prided themselves on having shown the highest wisdom. Who but someone who had been let out too soon from a lunatic asylum could have invented the Polish Corridor? Who is going to delimit the frontier of Poland?

## Vera Brittain's

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# DARE we Lose Another Generation?

asks JOHN W. COWLING

IT is evident that attempts are being made to prepare the public for heavy British casualties in the battles that lie ahead.

"For Britain and America also 1943 may mean the ordeal of great losses in battle", said a leader in the Daily Express recently. Although the Express declared that "the skill of our strategists and generals and the science of arms designers may help us to avoid the old pitched battles and blood baths of the last war", it added this warning:

But we must get to grips with our enemy. We have a vast task ahead of us. We must steel our courage to pay the price of victory.

That at least has the merit of not encouraging facile optimism; but the implications of the warning need to be made even clearer.

It is true that, in a warning that the great German losses reported from Russia do not mean "that the striking power has yet been blasted or frozen out of the German Army", the Express itself recalled what happened in the last war:

The British losses at Passchendaele were 50,000 on the first day. We lost 60,000 men on the first day of the Somme. Altogether at Passchendaele we lost 300,000; on the Somme 400,000.

Statistics can cover a multitude of horrors. One needs to go to some of the individual accounts of survivors of those battles to realize the reality that lies behind the figures—the hell on earth produced by "the skill of our strategists and generals and the science of arms designers".

The carnage on the Eastern Front in this war discourages the slightest hope that an attempt to open a European Front in the West would be any less of a blood bath.

About such a prospect much could be said. One could register hysterical protests at the prospect of slaughter on the grand scale.

This would be of little use, since

## French Socialists

## WARN AGAINST REVENGE

"Europe and the world of tomorrow will be able to live only to the extent to which the peace can exclude the abuse of force."

SO said a manifesto against a peace of revenge published in France by the Socialist Action Group, one of the largest of the underground workers' groups, which has been carrying on active resistance to collaboration.

The manifesto, which was published (according to Worldover Press) in the very widely-read underground newspaper, Le Populaire, added:

Today we can admit as an understandable fact that public opinion in the occupied countries and the countries at war with Germany is making less and less distinction between Nazism and Germanism, between the German people and their masters. But nonetheless we must prepare to study the problems of peace with calmness.

The solution must lead to a viable peace and must not provoke the revenge that chauvinism, on the one hand, and the abuse of force, on the other, would risk engendering once again. It is necessary to include Germany—if need be, to constrain her—like the other countries in an organization of real and disarmed peace.

Russia or Great Britain? How about Czecho-Slovakia, whose policy is still likely to be dependence on one of the western nations for protection? Not to mention Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, and the Balkans.

When we have said we desire no acquisition of more territory for the Empire, do we want the thousands of miles of barren coast of North Africa? No, but strategically it is valuable in view of the certainty of future wars.

So, before arranging for the establishment of a new ideal world we must keep a sharp look-out as to how our chief strategist is going to use the "unconditional surrender" of the Germans, which President Roosevelt seems to expect. The church-bells may be ordered to ring again. But will all the congregations feel quite happy about it? Some of them still remember 1919.

the fundamental tragedy is the prostitution of men's willingness to sacrifice themselves for what they believe to be a worthy cause: so that the noblest trait in human character, when doped, conscripted, and fitted into a vast machine, produces only death more abundantly.

Again, to those concerned only with the immediate political prospect, it might seem relevant to urge the Government to be more explicit about the kind of world they hope to establish by means of the killing.

As though a more detailed statement of Allied peace aims, or a blueprint of the Utopia they may never see, will compensate the many who are under virtual sentence of death! There are many signs that promises, however detailed, by politicians have ceased to mean much to many of the men in uniform.

There remains one angle, however, from which this matter is never publicly considered: can Britain afford to gamble with the lives of millions of its fittest young men without gravely endangering its future

vitality and the very ability to carry through any scheme of post-war reconstruction?

Taking the last war as a whole, the casualties meant not only personal tragedies and suffering on a scale the mind can scarcely comprehend, but the decimation of the very generation the nation could least afford to lose.

But for that irreplaceable loss—who knows?—we might be governed by an entirely different, and younger, set of men that those who have controlled our destinies for the last 25 years—with the result we see today. It was certainly freely admitted between the wars that this grievous drain on our manhood was responsible for many of our difficulties.

To a nation faced with the phenomenon of a declining population—a phenomenon not peculiar to Britain—it seems the extreme of folly to contemplate the killing and maiming of its men on the scale that must be expected.

Have we forgotten so soon the experiences and consequences of the last war? Or is this the madness engendered in those whom the gods wish to destroy? We should reflect on the answers to these questions before allowing glib talk of "the price of victory" to hide the consequences of our actions from us.

History never fails to punish those who make such colossal mistakes; even repentance, if it came too late, would not stave off the nemesis.

# SENSITIVENESS

## Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

## Guinea Pigs

IF you want pacifists to help mankind, let them offer themselves as volunteer provers at the Homeopathic Hospitals (in London, Queens Square, Bloomsbury, or in the Provinces).

The homeopathic physicians and surgeons do not rely upon animal experimentation—realizing the wrongfulness, and utter uselessness of it—but ask for human volunteer provers, so that they can study the effects in humans, who can speak and tell the effects. A study of the history of homeopathy, founded by Samuel Hahnemann, would, I am convinced, make you realize the absolute triumph of this humane form of healing, as compared with allopathy, i.e. healing based upon animal experimentation.

LILIAN F. CLINTON

108 Whitehall Gdns., E.4.

I realize that the Peace Pledge does not imply that its signatories should be antivivisectionists or bound to take a particular line in regard to other social questions. I also realize that to experiment on human beings is not so bad as vivisection. But apart from these considerations, the whole business from a pacifist point of view is condemned on the following grounds:

1. Diseases like small-pox have been mitigated by improved social conditions, not by inoculations.
2. The public authorities with their enthusiasm for immunization etc. will rather avail themselves of this fallacious form of curative treatment, and the services of guinea pigs, both human and animal, before adopting the preventative way of having better social conditions.
3. Yellow fever and other diseases are more in evidence as the result of war conditions. Hence a further necessity, if one is needed, for pacifists to concentrate on their essential task, namely to oppose the war.

FRANK MAITLAND

Benton, Newcastle upon Tyne.

The fact that certain pacifists have placed themselves in the hands of experimentalists has value in proving that the CO as a rule is no coward. We cannot withhold admiration from such men. Yet their action has a danger which should be pointed out.

Probably those who offer themselves have no idea how vaccines and sera are produced, and have only read one-sided and misleading statistics which appear to favour their case. May I advise anyone in this position to seek to acquaint himself with the other side as presented by Dr. Beddon Bayly, whose pamphlets can be obtained either from the BUAV, 138 Widmarsh St., Hereford, or from the Anti-Vivisection League, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London?

BEATRICE E. KIDD

Hoe Cottage, Peaslake.

AS a new reader, who was quite prepared to be critical, may I express an appreciation of Peace News in one important particular? It is that despite pressure of space, and the claims of varying shades of political and economic belief, PN yet manages to find room in its columns for reminders that it is the relatively small, outwardly insignificant things—life's undercurrents—that really matter.

The universal temptation of wartime is to cultivate a brutal insensitiveness to man's finer instincts, and to place a false emphasis on the hard, implacable, cruel streak in human nature; to the exclusion of the enduring virtues that alone make sense of life.

Speaking with all due reverence, one quality about Jesus Christ that set the seal of truth on his claim to be in a unique relationship to God was, to my mind, the fact that he was always in tune with the more sensitive (not sentimental) elements in man and nature.

These are, undeniably, stern and terrible times, but one may be forgiven, perhaps, for putting one's faith in an incorrigible idealism when the alternative would seem to be the subtle, materialistic philosophy of blood and iron that is well on the way to making a Frankenstein of man.

C. H. WORRALL

119 Reddal Hill Rd., Old Hill, Staffs.

## Nationalism for Peace

I get tired of the assumption that peace can be secured only by the quenching of nationality and the establishment of organizations of super-national collaboration. Such bodies only keep the differences of opinion among nations always in the hot air of perverted discussion (and misrepresentation) and make for war rather than for peace. I uphold the very unpopular opinion that it is the development of nationality that makes for peace. And how!

It is all so simple as truth itself. Simply that international trade shall be conducted in the spirit and method that the object of exports is to pay for necessary imports and that when that condition is established there shall be no further interest in international trade (except for purely developmental purposes). Once that principle of international trade is established, the economic and political bases of peace become automatic.

Automatic, because it will be realized that the solution of the problem of unemployment is not to be sought in the struggle for competitive markets, but is to be found within the domestic hearth, right on the doorstep. Here the spirit of nationalism is born again not in a competitive struggle with other nations, but in the creative spirit of the people really bent on "building Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land."

(Dr.) J. G. JONES

109 South Norwood Hill, S.E.25.

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## For Armistice Now

# BISHOP SUPPORTS BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE

**MR. RHYS DAVIES, MP.** and the Rev. Patrick Figgis, pacifist candidate in the recent South Poplar by-election, were the principal speakers at an Armistice Conference called by the Birmingham Council of the Peace Pledge Union, and held in the Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street, Birmingham, on Jan. 30.

One hundred and ninety people, mainly drawn from pacifist organizations, attended the conference.

Mr. R. W. Hand, Chairman of the Birmingham PPU Council, who presided over the meeting, read a letter received from the private secretary of the Bishop of Birmingham stating:

The Bishop is a pacifist because he knows that war is not compatible with Christ's teaching. He would therefore welcome an immediate armistice and the end of the present appalling slaughter.

Rhys Davies, declaring that before the conflict ended half the human race

might be engaged in destroying one another, said it was well to let the historian of the future know "that there were in these islands some who tried to bring the holocaust to an end by reason rather than by further bloodshed."

He warned those for whom the war meant good wages against "the evil effects of the disruption of industrial and civil life when it ends", and suggested that if one of the several attempts at a negotiated peace during the 1914-18 war had succeeded, mankind, and especially the working classes, would have fared much better than they did as a result of the "knock-out blow policy".

He was not going to be a silent witness of all the destruction and the spread of disease, hunger, and misery, he concluded.

### COMMON OBJECTIONS

Patrick Figgis dealt with some of the usual objections to an armistice now.

People might argue that Germany would never keep her word, and that she must be subjugated. But he thought it might well pay Germany to keep her word, whilst subjugation would only sow the seeds of further wars.

It would be a terrible thing to desert our present allies, and he hoped we could all move together in any proposed armistice. Even worse would be "the desertion of the Jews and the people of the occupied countries", but he pointed out that continuing the war had already worsened the position.

Positive reasons for an armistice were the growing barriers of racial hatred, the decline of religion and morality, and the spread of famine and disease as the war continued.

\* \* \*

Asked in the House of Commons on Feb. 4 whether he would

take steps to prevent an organization which advocates peace by negotiation with Hitler, and which distributes pro-Nazi, anti-Parliamentary and anti-Semitic propaganda, from holding a public meeting at a London theatre in the near future,

Mr. Herbert Morrison replied: "My present information does not suggest that this meeting is likely to attract so much public interest that serious disorder is to be apprehended."

### WORDS OF PEACE — 7

## The Higher Tribunal

**T**O the outward eye monarchs and Parliaments seem to rule with an absolute and unquestioned sway, but

There is on earth a yet auguster thing, Veiled though it be, than Parliament or King.

That auguster thing is the tribunal which God has set up in the conscience of men. It is before that tribunal that I am now permitted humbly to plead, and there is something in my heart—a small but exultant voice—which tells me I shall not plead in vain.

John Bright, 1865

### LETTERS

## Pacifism and Politics

**H**OW very alarmed some pacifists become at the suggestion of any sort of political action—except the hopelessly Utopian programme of stopping the war by simply leaving off, followed by immediate, complete, and unilateral disarmament! Which programme, I agree, is admirable and eminently desirable. In fact it has only one defect: that no-one, except the hundred thousand or so signatories of the Peace Pledge, is likely to agree to it. "Very well," say the prophets, "we must convert the rest". If conversions continue at the same rate as during the past 1910 years, we may have doubled our numbers by the year 4000.

In the meantime it is not improbable that the present hostilities will have ceased, and that a peace treaty, either negotiated or dictated, will have been signed. The terms of that treaty will depend on

1. The military result of the war;  
2. The duration of the war (other things being equal, the longer the war, the more unjust the peace);

3. The state of public opinion in the predominant countries at the end of the war. The pacifist can have little control, even if he desired it, over the first of these factors; and at the present moment I do not think he can exercise much influence over the second (the times were propitious for a negotiated peace campaign in March 1940 and may be again, but are not just now).

To save ourselves from utter frustration, then, let us devote ourselves to moderating the rising tide of hatred, checking the growth of nationalist sentiment, tempering the pride of empire (which some in high places seem bent on keeping alive) and exposing the evils these are designed to screen—social inequality at home and the power of vested interests. I cannot see that this involves any sacrifice of principle—indeed it seems to me complementary to the renunciation of war.

But it is going to be hard work, and if there are any willing to cooperate, even though they do not assent to the complete renunciation of armed force, I think we cannot afford to reject their help. Our combined efforts, I fear, will not do much to ameliorate the peace treaty, but if pacifists remain ostentatiously aloof their influence will be even less.

Not all the signatories of the Cove manifesto, perhaps, are going quite as far as we are (though I challenge G. F. Bligh's statement that the majority of its supporters are out for military victory) but they travel the same road for quite a lot of the journey. It would be childish to reject them as travelling companions.

ERIC G. ATTWOOD

7 Coronation Court,  
81 Willeaden Lane, N.W.6.

### Continued from page 4

## France: A Point of View

**M**Y last letter to you in which I urged a policy of reconciliation with the French Government at Vichy, was written two days prior to the American invasion of N. Africa, and was very naturally suppressed. Since that time, however, the impossible has happened, and what amounts to a recognition of the French National Revolution has been achieved. The appointment of M. Marcel Peyrouton as Governor of Algeria, the continuance in office of General Nogues, and the acceptance of M. Boisson's collaboration all point to a permanent change of policy towards the New France and an understanding on the part of the Allied Nations of the needs of the French nation after the corruption and subsequent disasters of Popular Front rule. There remains, however, the rift between the Marshal and his government on one side and General Giraud and his Imperial Council on the other.

This rift, however unreal fundamentally, is likely to become more bitter, especially if the new youth movements and other national organizations in N. Africa are dissolved under Allied pressure. We know that there is no bitterness like the bitterness of two men, let alone two old colleagues, whose methods are diametrically opposed but whose ambitions are very similar. The Marshal and General Giraud share one ambition—the restoration of France's dignity: their methods of achieving this are similar up to a point, but the choice of allies is opposed. Having accepted, by implication, that the new France must be a national and authoritarian State, the Allies must now endeavour to find a basis on which to unite these two nationalist bodies.

In Algeria, there lives the Comte de Paris, heir to the throne of France, with a large following both in the French Empire and in France itself, known as the Action Francaise. The Comte de Paris is an intelligent young man, with a Brazilian wife and three children: General Giraud, is said to be monarchist in sympathy; so too is Marshal Petain. Surely there is a basis in the Action Francaise movement for the achievement of French unity?

Yet all Mr. Eden can do is to be rude. Can it be possible that, even at this late hour, the policy of England remains rooted in the balance of power, and that while wishing for a liberated, it has no intention of permitting a united, healthy, and great French nation?

MICHAEL GARDNER

The Hermitage, Silver St., Cambridge.

### INDIAN FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

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## FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM

**W**EDNESDAY was the centenary of the death of Richard Carlile, a doughty champion of the freedom of the press, who once declared: "It is the bounden duty of every man openly to avow whatever his mind conceives to be the truth."

Carlile was sentenced to terms of imprisonment totalling 12 years—he served nearly ten—but refused to be deflected from his purpose. "I would rather be free in prison than shackled outside", he wrote.

His story is a reminder that our "traditional" British liberties were gained by individuals and minorities who wielded no material weapon and were ready to suffer persecution until their cause prevailed.

Those who, by their active support, have helped to keep Peace News in circulation (especially since 1940), have also helped to preserve in some degree the freedom of expressing opinion which men like Carlile struggled to obtain. They have learned by experience how precarious that freedom has again become.

In this connexion, the following, from Hannen Swaffer's column in the Daily Herald, Dec. 22, is significant:

The Rationalist Press Association had arranged for G. D. H. Cole to broadcast a special talk in celebration of the centenary of Richard Carlile's death—but the talks director of the BBC, apparently, had never heard of him. "Although many are furious at the decision," writes Dr. Charles Brook, "the matter cannot be raised in Parliament. Won't journalists protest?"

## Uncommon "Law"

"Let the People Rule" by Robert J. Scrutton (Dakers, 6d.)

This pamphlet is by the leader of the Common Law Parliament movement and is presumably intended to show why that movement exists. Mr. Scrutton fails to give any good reason for the existence of this movement, which consists only of miscellaneous ideas, nostrums, and proposed reforms collected hotch potch from various quarters.

The very name of the movement is misleading. Mr. Scrutton has no understanding of what Common Law is or has been. "A common Law", he says, "of right and wrong such as was once all powerful in this country must again be made to override Parliament". This statement is so vague as to be meaningless. Moreover, there is no historical justification for it.

Again, he refers to Common Law in the form of a new Magna Carta, although statute law, which includes Magna Carta, is a modification of common law. He says that the "original intention of the British Constitution in ancient common law was to ensure a progressive order of society adaptable to meet all contingencies." Further, "The need for unemployment benefit, sick benefit, old age pensions, widows' pensions, and the debated project of child endowment would cease by the guarantee of the necessities of life for all. This guarantee was contained in the ancient British Common Law."

These statements are not correct and only show Mr. Scrutton's ignorance of history.

### USELESS PHRASES

Apart from the ignorance and distortion of history shown in this pamphlet, the movement would appear to consist of little except high sounding phrases or slogans which mean little or nothing by themselves, and a few specific proposals some of which are dangerous and most useless taken by themselves. What is the use of phrases such as that "wrong be made illegal and that right may be made all-powerful by the law of the land"?

Mr. Scrutton gives us no indication of how these principles are to be applied in practice. He seems to think that if an Act of Parliament stating them is placed on the Statute Book, all henceforth will be well.

He suggests that the referendum is an important reform to obtain. He ignores all the evidence which shows that the right to compel the submission of a Bill to the people before it is passed into law generally plays into the hands of reactionaries.

Does Mr. Scrutton really think that the Factories Act of 1937 could have been properly dealt with by the people on a referendum? Parliament undoubtedly needs reform, but crude measures such as the referendum would only delay social change.

The People's Common Law Parliament presumably appeals to persons who desire social change but find existing political parties and movements too slow for their honest impatience, too complex for their political naivete, or ineffective. Those, however, who join the movement cannot be thinking clearly because they are deceived by emotionally toned phraseology and slogans which conceal the absence of thought. No good purpose is served by this body, and pacifists will do well to have no connection with it: the PPU needs their support and attention.

ROBERT S. W. POLLARD

Readers interested in Laurence Housman's article on Retribution (PN, Feb. 5) will find the subject elaborated, and illustrated from first principles and penal experience, in Stephen Hobbhouse's "Retribution and the Christian" to be had from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, for 3d. post paid.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Food Relief Campaign

### THE NEXT STEP

**T**HE Food Relief Campaign is now approaching a crisis. After a desperate year-long rearguard action to prevent it, the Government is being strongly urged to permit controlled food relief into Western Europe. The Archbishop of Canterbury is to address the All-Party Panel of Parliament on Wednesday next.

Pacifists have played a creditable though unostentatious part in arousing the public conscience to the tragedy in which the Allied blockade has been instrumental. It is important that they should be aware of the present opportunity—and ready to play their part in taking it. A lightning sketch of food relief history indicates the pattern of events which may be expected.

When famine became acute in Greece, Turkey was permitted (by the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, the local agent for the Ministry of Economic Warfare) to send to her neighbour 50,000 tons of food, to be spread over the year. When this proved pitifully inadequate emergency shipments were permitted directly through the blockade. These amounted to about 25,000 tons in five months.

Then, and again in response to persistent pressure, came the substantial concession of 15,000 tons of Canadian breadgrains to be imported into Greece each month in Swedish ships chartered to the International Red Cross. By this time 250,000 Greeks had starved. This is still the bulk of Greek relief. It is administered by a mixed Swiss-Swedish Commission, who have recently applied for and have obtained a small additional quantity of dried milk.

All this time the British authorities have professed to regard Greece as a special case, while maintaining a rigid blockade of the rest of Occupied Europe. The Famine Relief Committee have adumbrated detailed proposals for relief to Belgium in the form of vitamin capsules, concentrates, and dried milk. It is this set of proposals which has received widespread influential support, and which the Archbishop may be expected to advocate on Wednesday.

Unhappily, they are a marked retreat from the Hoover proposals of 1940, and even from the modified Hoover proposal of 1941, which is roughly comparable, since it also took Belgium as its relief area. We must therefore make it plain that while the present proposals are a step in the right direction, they cannot be regarded as in any way adequate to arrest the effects of long privation in Belgium.

### ONLY ONE STEP

If extensive public activity is now pursued, and every MP urged to attend the Archbishop's meeting, some such concession may be wrung for the Belgians. But we can accept it only as a step forward and be prepared to create and sustain the public opinion which will press for truly adequate concessions.

Our task is still to make known the facts—to explain frankly now far British policy (and not merely Axis plunder) is responsible for depriving Europe of its food. Shop display sets, literature distribution, public meetings—these are the means to do it.

Over fifty shops have been used already. Why not a concentrated effort in every large town, as in the Potteries recently, when four food relief shops were in use? Why not deputations to every M.P., before and after next Wednesday? Why not public meetings wherever men and women will gather? Why not a renewed effort to enlist the active support of the clergy? Why not a mixed Food Relief Committee to plan the efforts of all sympathizers?

Recently, after the publicity following Dr. Howard Kershner's arrival here, there has been an extraordinary upswing in public activity of all sorts—new committees have come to our notice at the rate of two each day.

This work must go on: pacifists can act as a "ginger group".



## FAMINE Rehabilitation Now?

"Our troops will be unable to take the offensive successfully in countries where famine and pestilence are generating riot and revolution."

**THUS** Mr. Herbert Lehman, President Roosevelt's nominee to the new post of Foreign Relief Rehabilitation Director, in his New York speech (Manchester Guardian, Feb. 2).

The significance of his remark is that hitherto he has confined his comments to post-war measures, but in this speech he referred to "the incontestable fact that the development of relief measures and rehabilitation will go far towards shortening the war and helping to create an equitable and enduring peace."

### UNANSWERABLE CASE

"Critic", of the New Statesman, Feb. 6, has been "convinced" by Dr. Howard Kershner that the "case for allowing food into France and Belgium is now unanswerable".

According to The Tablet, Feb. 6, the excess of deaths over births in Belgium in 1941 was 121,134. The same article quoted the Nouveau Journal, April 16, 1942, as writing, "despite strict censorship", that "every month 2,000 more are added to the 61,000 tubercular children who will never become men... 200,000 Belgian children are in danger of their lives."

### RESOLUTIONS

It is reported from New York (D. Express, Feb. 9) that four more ships under safe conduct guarantees have left for Greece with food.

Worcester Famine Relief Committee held a large public meeting on Jan. 23 at the Guildhall, at which a resolution in favour of relief to occupied Europe was passed with one dissentient, and sent to Mr. Eden, the local MP, and the central famine committee.

The North Lancashire and Westmorland branch of the National Union of Journalists, at its meeting at Lancaster on Saturday, passed unanimously for the Annual Delegate Meeting of the NUJ in London at Easter a resolution that the British Government be urged to arrange for sufficient quantities of food to be sent to the starving people of Europe, subject to already proved, adequate safeguards, through the International Red Cross, ensuring that supplies and existing food in the countries are not taken by Germany or Italy.

## TRUE STORY

This is a conversation between a woman, enraged for some reason or another, and an ARP warden.

Enraged woman: When's this war going to be over, I'm fed up with it?

Warden (proud upholder of everything patriotic and approved): When we've won.

Woman: When's that going to be?

Warden: I don't know. A long while yet.

Woman: Their government's obstinate and so is ours. The sooner they get their heads together and settle it, the better. They're living a lot better than we are!

Warden: How do you make that out?

Woman: Well, take bacon, where's all the Danish bacon going to—and that was the best.

Warden: Well they've got it. But they've killed all the pigs now.

Woman: How do you know that?

Warden: Haven't you read it in the papers?

Woman (ignoring his question): Now, how old are you?

Warden: 72!

Woman: Well its time you'd learnt not to believe all you read in the papers!

With that the conversation closed.

L.T.

LONDON AREA — PEACE PLEDGE UNION

## CONCERT SOCIAL & DANCE

including a SAD and HEARTRENDING melodrama

## A PACIFIST PROGRESS THE WHOLE

devised and presented with the aid of modern CON-TRAPIONS and without regard of EXPENSE, to meet the command of several respectable people.

Guest of Honour: DR. ALEX WOOD  
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1.  
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 2.30-10  
Admission by programme from  
8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

MEMBERS 3s. the lot (including tea)

OTHERS £3 3s. (subject to scrutiny of credentials)

Non-Members admitted to dance after 6.30 for 1s. 6d. (pay at door)

## Repeated Fire-Watch Prosecutions

### C.O. NEWS

Bedford. The speech, which will be his fourth in the House, will (according to The Word) be in support of his motion to call the attention of the Government

to the unsatisfactory position whereby through the failure of many tribunals to discharge their duties in a just and reasonable manner, and also through the failure of the Government to recognize the right of conscientious objection to fire-watching\* and to other compulsory work ordered by the Ministry of Labour, many persons of good character are being heavily fined or imprisoned, sometimes repeatedly for the same offence; to move, to resolve, that the right to conscientious objection to fire-watching and to work ordered by the Ministry of Labour be henceforward recognized, and that appellate tribunals shall contain a majority of persons who, while fully prepared to recognize and reject the appeals of persons who are not genuine, have sympathy for the position of the sincere objector, whatever the grounds for his objection.

Lord Ponsonby may speak in support of the Duke's motion.

\*Conscientious objection to fire-watching has been allowed as legitimate grounds of appeal by Hardship Tribunals in one or two cases, but it is entirely within their discretion whether they will do so or not.

### C.O.s in U.S.A.

Between seven and eight hundred American COs were reported to be in prison in November, 1942.

An analysis of CO cases reported in the American press up to Sept. 15 showed that of the 936 such cases, 608 were of persons accused of violating the law.

Sentences vary from 6 months to 5 years,

either in prison or Civilian Public Service Camps.

In 16 cases the accused men, after serving sentences, have remained subject to prosecution. Asst. US Attorney Herbert H. Freer having asserted that under the Selective Service Act violations of the Act are continuing offences. In six cases the accused, after serving sentences of a year and a day for refusal to register, were sentenced to two years for failing to return questionnaires.

COs included men and women from all walks of life, representing a great variety of religious beliefs, and other affiliations. Out of more than 300 who admitted to affiliation to religious, pacifist, or political bodies, 159 were Jehovah's Witnesses.

Besides native American COs there were Germans, Jews, Italians, Negroes, American Indians, and natives of the West and East Indies.

More spectacular activities of American COs are also reported. These include:

going without food and water for days on end and drinking sea water, in experiments at a Boston hospital which may save the lives of torpedoed seamen (D. Express, Feb. 9); and

training as parachute fire fighters in the great forests (The Reporter, Jan. 1, journal of the US National Service Board for Religious Objectors).

### ADVISORY BUREAUX

Abergavenny.—John D. Owen, Clyro, Park Cres., Abergavenny.

Bala individual adviser.—Rev. Ifor O. Huws, Glandwr, Bala.

Bideford individual adviser.—Rev. A. J. Jeffries, Beverley, Abbotsham Rd., Bideford.

Cheltenham.—W. J. Jones, Maud's Elm, Cheltenham.

Cockermouth.—Eric J. W. Tapsell, Grecian House, Sunderland Village.

Derby Acting Sec.—Pastor S. G. Tomlinson, 155 Crewe St., Derby.

Winchester District Secretary.—Edwin N. J. Nias, 21 Emsworth Rd., Shirley, Southampton. (Shampton 71767).

Winscombe.—Mrs. Amy Little, Maytrees, Hillyfields, Winscombe.

Wrexham.—Miss W. J. Griffiths, 22 Benjamin Rd., Wrexham.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

CHARGES: 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

CASH must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

LATEST TIME for copy to be received: MONDAY. Please type copy separately from your letter, but add name and address.

### DISPLAYED ADVTs.

MAXIMUM space allowed: 8 column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy: FRIDAY.

### MEETINGS, &c. (Cont.)

PURLEY GROUP P.P.U. now meeting alternate Fridays at Friends House, Downs Court Rd., at 7.30. Feb. 12 (today) Frederick Lohr on "An Introduction to Anarchism"; Feb. 26, Donald Port on "The Politics of Pacifism."

REG. SORESENSEN "The Peril of Racial Hatred". Co-op Hall, Worcester. Sat., Feb. 20, 2.45 p.m.

### PERSONAL

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars, Box 654 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOLY CROSS CHURCH, Cromer St., W.C.1 (Within two minutes of S. Pancras Station). "They" have taken away our last altar-server and wrecked two choirs; others would like to see our church closed at least for the duration; but we have never failed, morning by morning, to offer "the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ," or "to declare the whole counsel of God." I have no desire to build up a cliquish congregation, but I do appeal to my fellow Christian pacifists for their prayers on behalf of this House of God in submerged Central London; any who could help form a new servers' guild or a new choir would be gladly welcomed. God bless you all. 47 Argyle Sq., W.C.1, R. H. Le Messurier, Vicar.

WHARTON COMMUNITY (late 24 Wharton St.) are now at 5 Gayton Cres., Hampstead, N.W.3.

YOUNG LADY, 23, musical tastes, seeks companionship of a man same age. Barmouth or district. Box 736 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

BOYS' FARM TRAINING Hostel in Derbyshire has vacancy for man or woman. Interesting work including supervision, domestic, gardening, and handyman jobs. Ability to drive an advantage. Board, accommodation, and salary. Box 728 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CARPENTERS, DECORATORS, and General Handymen wanted by firm of building contractors in London area; full or part time; those willing to learn would be considered. Good wages and bonus. Apply Box 726 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

COOK required in April for small boarding school. Live in with teaching staff. Burgess Hill School, Redhurst, Cranleigh.

CYCLE MECHANIC. Age, experience, if any, wage required to H. E. G. Ferris, 257 Bath Rd., Hounslow, Middx. HOU 3889.

ENGINEER or man with practical mechanical ability required; good wages; non-war work. Higginbottom, Waddicar, Maghull, Lancs.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4 by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Cliffor Printing Co., (T.U.) London N.16.

THE Rev. Sidney Spencer appeared at Liverpool police court on Feb. 5 on a charge of refusing to give particulars of himself after being convicted for failure to register under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1942. He was sentenced to one month's imprisonment without the option of a fine. Twice before, fines for refusing to register had been paid for him anonymously.

George Elphick, For and PPU member, has been prosecuted for the fourth time at Lewes for refusing to do fire watching duties. As he refused to pay a £5 fine he is now serving his third term of imprisonment (28 days) in Lewes Prison.

The whole question of repeated prosecutions for fire-watching offences has been taken up by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors with the Parliamentary Exemptions Group.

Mrs. V. Deane, aged 28, of Caversham Rd., S. Tottenham, and Walter James Clayfield, of Lordship Lane, Tottenham, were each sentenced at Tottenham on Feb. 4 to 3 months imprisonment for failing to register for Civil Defence. Both argued (according to the Evening Standard) that the demand to register was a denial of the freedom of the individual.

Sentencing Walter Abbott, minister of Carlington Baptist Church, Nottingham, to three months imprisonment, and a further three months if he did not pay a fine of £100, for failure to register for Civil Defence duties, Sir Albert Atkey, presiding magistrate of the Summons Court, described it as "the only course to take to protect the sane citizens of Nottingham."

### Motion in Lords?

A defence of conscientious objectors is expected to be made in the House of Lords this month by the Duke of

### ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

ONE ROOM Chalet, fitted cupboards, porch; Oil cooker; 15s. wkly. Also single berth Caravan, 10s. wkly. Both main water, plot of ground included. Peaceful situation, minute Newton-Toines Rd. Crocker, Bilton, Ipplepen.

WANTED TO RENT, by married C.O. doing hospital work N. London, small house or ground-floor flat with garden. Two children. Box 687 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG C.O. AND WIFE require small house or flat to rent in Birmingham; reasonable rent, Box 741 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG COUPLE seek lodgings, rooms, or house area formed by Hitchin, Hatfield, Harpenden, Luton, Robert Long, The Hoo, Whitwell, Herts.

### EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

C.O. COUPLE newly married urgently require bedding and all household effects cheap, suitable farm cottage. Particulars and price to Box 740 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

P.P.U. Group and Regional Secretary requires typewriter urgently; low price essential. Offers, please? Box 739 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED to buy or hire, Cello, suitable for beginner. Please state price. F. Sinkinson, "Vivova", Somerton, Somerset.

WRITE FOR OUR vegetable seed catalogue. "In Your Garden." Newman St., Shirley Terminus, Southampton.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O.s require small piece land, 1-4 acres, reasonable rent. Goffs Oak-Cheshunt district, or house on land, or to rent caravan. Box 738 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST FARMS require four temporary men to carry through scheme of land drainage; live in farmhouse. Also women required for cooking and housekeeping for these men. Arduous work for six months. Community Farming Society Ltd., Mid Farm, Lissington, Lincoln.

TWO PEOPLE desire to meet others interested in forming land or income-pooling group. Box 737 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

VERY GOOD WORKMEN are invited to communicate with advertiser seeking partner for prosperous market garden near London. Horticultural experience and some capital desirable. Only men of highest character and adapted to really hard work need apply. Box 727 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### LITERATURE &c.

DO NOT MISS the Feb. special Women's Number of The Tribunal! Contributions by Ethel Mannin, Ruth Fry, Muriel Lester etc. 4d. post free. 119 Perry Vale, London, S.E.23.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS &c.

EDMONTON Music-Lovers' 19th recital, Sat., Feb. 20, 6.30 p.m. Edmonton Independent Church, Knights Lane, N.9. Artists: Vida Blanche (international coloratura soprano); Michael, solo pianoforte; Yvonne Manet, solo violin.

### SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

EXPECTANT MOTHER (July), two boys 4 and 6, requires household helper daily or live in; Walton-on-Thames. Full details to Box 713 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

IS ANYONE interested in vegetarianism free to assist with management of guest house for coming season? Apply, sending particulars of experience and salary expected, to: Isabel James, Beck Allans, Grasmere.

LAD wanted. Apply H. E. G. Ferris, 257 Bath Rd., Hounslow, Middx. HOU 3889.

PAINTER AND CARPENTERS wanted. Domestic work, temporary or permanent. Write James, 54b Market Place, N.W.11.

RADIO-ENGINEER. Apply Brewer, 83 Fairfax Rd., South Hampstead, N.W.6. Telephone MAI, 4200.

SOCIAL SERVICE organization. (West Midlands) urgently requires assistant store-keeper; driver preferred; commencing £3 per week; C.O. acceptable. Inquiries to Box 712 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

URGENTLY WANTED by P.S.U. for work with Anna Freud Nurseries, two or three keen handymen interested in work with children. Opportunities for learning gardening and modern educational methods. Apply Pacifist Service Units, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

WOMAN HELP required at hostel for W.L.A. girls. Reserved occupation. 10 miles Tunbridge Wells. Box 735 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG GIRL as help at Hostel for W.L.A. girls. Reserved occupation. 10 miles Tunbridge Wells. Box 734 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

### SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

ANY JOB in food distribution, humanitarian, hospital, ambulance, agriculture, or horticulture by commercial traveller in food, experienced as van driver, warehouseman, despatch clerk. Assistance Board investigator, and clerk. Whiskin, 19 Putney Rd., Bath.

C.O. REQUIRES full-time Civil Defence work. Box 733 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. SINGLE, agricultural exemption; 3 years experience, milking, horse work; good references; Surrey preferred. Box 732 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 25, unconditional exemption, requires situation. London area preferred, good refs., can drive lorry. Box 731 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 27, MARRIED, seeks progressive post on farm. 2 years' experience, general dairy, tractor; interested driving. Anything considered, accommodation advantage. Box 730 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST (49), ex-Great War C.O., seeks useful paid non-war employment. Late museum curator, local scientific society's secretary and editor, etc., 19 years in last situation; unfit heavy work; Wales greatly preferred, S.W. England considered. Box 729 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN, 17, seeks post as cowman 1 year's experience. Life-long vegetarian Theosophist, fond of music. Home Counties preferred. Fussell, Goose Green Farm, Sutton Mallet, Bridgwater.

### WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

WYE VALLEY. Guest House in own park of 150 acres. Vegetarians and others catered for, from £2 17s. 6d. "Lindora", St. Briavels, Glos.